Hib. 7. 689. 7

James 2nd

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

Late King JAMES's Declaration

To all his pretended Subjects in the

Kingdom of England.

Dated at *Dublin-Castle*, *May* 8. 1689.

Published according to Order.

UNIV. LIB. CAMB.

WHEN one reflects upon the continued Conduct of the Late King *James*, both before and after his Accession to the Crown, and the dismal Consequences thereof to these Three Kingdoms, and at last to himself, I cannot but regrate the Fate of those Princes, that abandon their true Interest, *Reason*, Conscience and Honour, to *Jesuitick* Councils, and enslave themselves to a Party, justly abominated by the better part of the *Romish* Church it self, for their gross Encroachments upon Religion, Morality, and all that's Sacred among men. When I look back to the many Tragedies acted by that Fraternity, both in this, and the last Age, scarce a Kingdom or State in *Europe*, where their Villanies have not come up to the utmost reach of depraved Nature: When I call to mind the Horrid Desolations, Murders and Wars, they have been Instrumental of, in the most remote parts of the World; witness some Millions of Souls in *Japan*, and other parts of *Asia*, sacrificed not many Years ago, to their Ambition and Intrigues, under the Notion of propagating the Catholick Faith; I say, when I consider all these things, I am the less surprized with the dismal Effects of their Councils in *England*, since the same Fate attends them every where. But I must confess, That among all the Martyrs to *Loyola*'s Principles, there is none more justly claims our Compassion, than the Late King *James*. To see a Prince, naturally of no bad Temper, imposed upon by these zealous Bigots, to trample upon the Religion and Liberties of His People, contrary to Fundamental Laws, and the most solemn Promises and Oaths, under the false Mask of Piety and Zeal to the Catholick Faith, and at length to find him seduc'd to abandon His Kingdoms, and thereby an absolute necessity put upon the Representatives of the People, to fill up His Throne, vacated by His own Fault, is a Subject that naturally displays the vanity of human Greatness. And I may add, That the unaccountable Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience*, as it was the Source of a great many Mischiefs among our selves, so what has befallen that King, may be partly imputed to it; for believing, That without controul he might do what he pleas'd, encourag'd him to take such measures as have brought upon him all his Misfortunes, I cannot but at the same time represent to my self, with that emotion of mind the affrighted Passenger looks back upon the devouring Billows he has lately escap'd, the dismal Scene of Ruin that so lately threatned us, and that Abyss of Misery we had certainly been plung'd into e're now, if his present Majesty had not opportunely delivered us from the very Jaws of Death and Ruin.

That any of the Protestant Perswasion at home, should be found Repiners at this

mighty deliverance, Is In my humble opinion, an unaccountable piece of Ingratitude and Weakneſs at once; When all the Reformed States abroad, look upon this great Revolution in *Britain*, as the moſt happy Providence that has appear'd on the Theatre of *Europe* this Centuryof Years. The late mighty Enterprize of His Majeſty, was the Reſult of the united Conſultations of all the Foreign Proteſtant States and Princes in this part of *Chriſtendom*; who ſettled upon it, as the laſt Caſt of the Dyce, for their Religion and Liberty; and with a trembling Expectation, made Vows to Almighty God, for the Succeſs of an Attempt, they wiſely forſaw, carried in its Womb the Fate, not only of theſe Three Kingdoms, but of all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*.

When Heaven had ſmil'd upon this ſtupendious Attempt, and had beyond the uſual Tract of Providence, vouchſafed us a Deliverance ſcarce equal'd in the Records of Time, Who would have imagin'd that *England* ſhould produce ſuch a ſort of Monſters, as ſeem to be in love with Slavery and Ruin, the neceſſary Conſequences of their Folly? And that there are ſuch a ſort of Men, we have a plain Demonſtration in theſe unhappy Wretches, that have ſo induſtriouſly diſperſ'd through this great City, that Paper called, *King* James *His Declaration to all His Loving Subjects in the Kingdom of* England: A Paper, I could have wiſh'd for King *James*'s own Honour had been buried in Eternal Oblivion, ſince it contains a heap of Falſities, that was below a Prince to affirm, and which are known to be ſo, by no fewer than the people of Three Kingdoms. In giving my Reflections upon this Declaration, the Reſpect due to one that was lately a Crowned Head, with ſome other juſt motives, obliges me to do it with more reſervedneſs than perhaps ſuch a Paper deſerves; and in ſtead of a needleſs expoſing a Prince, that has his Honour too much ſunk already, in the eyes of all *Europe*, I ſhall with all the Calmneſs and Candor poſſible, examine the Declaration it ſelf, without Reflections upon the Prince whoſe it is; and ſhall not omit one ſingle Sentence in it, that can be interpreted even by Himſelf, of any Conſequence.

Thus His Declaration begins, *Altho the many Calumnies and diſmal Stories, by which Our Enemies have endeavoured to render us and Our Government odious to the World, do now appear to have been advanc'd by them, not only without any ground but a. gainſt their own certain knowledge; as is evident by their not daring to attempt the proving theſe Charges to the World, which we cannot but hope, hath opened the eyes of Our good Subjects, to ſee how they have been impoſed upon by deſigning men, who to promote their own Ambitious Ends, care not what Slavery they reduce Our Kingdoms to.* It ſeems King *James* continues in His wonted road, of taking wrong meaſures both of Perſons and Actions, which has been the occaſion of all His Misfortunes. When he talks of his Enemies, that have rendred him and his Government odious to the World, He miſtakes himſelf, if he means thoſe Worthy Patriots, that being weary of his inſupportable Incroachments upon the Religious and Civil Liberties of theſe Nations, did lend a hand, to deliver themſelves and Fellow ſubjects from a Ruin that ſeem'd almoſt inevitable. But if He had been at the pains to make an Impartial Survey of his own Actings, and the pernicious Counſels of a ſort of Men about him, He might eaſily come to know, That His only and real Enemies were thoſe Popiſh Emiſſaries, that valued not how much His Honour ſuffer'd, nor his Crown were indanger'd, if ſo be they might bring about their own hidden Deſigns; and were willing to ſacrifice both Him, and His Intereſt, to their own by-ends. Never Prince was ſo unhappy in His Cabinet-Council as He; and that *falſe light* which led Him to imploy none about Him, with any intimacy of confidence, but thoſe of His own Perſwaſion, prov'd an *ignis fatuus*, that cheated Him into paths never trode by any of His Predeceſſors but to their deſtruction. If he had been ſo happy, as to have continued in His moſt Secret Counſels a great many Perſons of the Reform'd Religion, whom he kept at a diſtance, though

07 - 1513

though to amuse the Nation He allowed them the empty Names of Privy Counselors; He had not brought three Kingdoms to the brink of Ruine, nor upon Himself so hard a fate. Yet I must acknowledge some part of the obligation we have to these Gentlemen, that of late had the sole conduct of King *JAMES* His Affairs; For in giving Him such Counsels as his greatest Enemies could have wish'd Him, they prov'd the occasion of our being at this day happy under the Auspicious Reign of their Majesties, being Princes of the same Religion and Interests with Their People; And we may justly say, as *Themistocles* of old, *we had undoubtedly perish'd, if we had not perish'd.* How little is King *James* oblig'd to His Secretary that penn'd this Declaration, since he so foolishly rakes up the Remembrance of those things that made Him and His Government odious to the World, by the names of Calumnies and Stories, which it was so much His Master's Interest to bury in silence? Good God! Were the late palpable and baresac'd Incroachments upon the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, but Calumnies? Were the open Violations of Solemn Oaths, Promises and Ingagements, but Stories? Does King *James*, or His *French* and *Irish* Councellors imagine, that we have so soon forgot His *Promises made in Council* not many hours after His Brother's Death, and his conspicuous Breaches of them not many months thereafter? Can we allow our selves to forget, that all the Trusts both in *Court, Bench, and the Army*, were filled up with these very Men, whom Reiterated Laws had rendred incapable of them? Was a *Person's sitting at the Council-board*, whose very being found in *England* was death by the Law, but a meer Calumny? Can a few months be able to obliterate the Memory of that Affair of *Magdalen College*, one of the most open Invasions of Property that could be? Have we lost the Remembrance of that Illegal *Ecclesiastical Court*, and the Tyrannick Judgments past therein? Have we not seen a *Reverend Prelat* suspended from his Function, meerly because he would not do what he could not, that is, for not condemning a man unheard? Have not we seen seven of the *Spiritual Peers* of *England*, sent prisoners to the *Tower*, and brought as Criminals to the Bar, for barely representing the Reasons, why they could not obey an Arbitrary Command, contrary to their Conscience? Both *England*, and our Neighbouring Nation have too many Reasons, to remember the Late King *James*'s assuming to himself an *Arbitrary and Despotick Power*, not only to dispence with Laws, and the firmest Constitutions, but to act diametrically opposite to them. Can King *James*'s Oratory perswade us, That the continuing to Levy the *Customs and additional Excise*, (which had been only granted during the Late King *Charles*'s Life) before the Parliament could meet to renew this Grant, was but a Calumny? Was the strange Essay of *Mahometan Government*, acted at *Taunton* and *Lyme*; and the no less strange Proceedings of that Bloody Chief Justice, in his Western Circuit, (justly term'd *his Champaign*, for it was an open Hostility to all Law) for which, and the like Services, he had the reward of the Great Seal, were they all but Stories? We have too good Reason not to forget the many Violences committed by the Soldiers of a standing Army in most Parts of *England* and *Scotland*, which are the most severe and insupportable Invasions of Property.

These, and such like, with a great many more, were the things that render'd King *James's* Government Justly *Odious to the British world*, and made these three Kingdoms groan after Liberty. If so grave and tragick a Subject, could allow it, I could be almost tempted to laugh at that Expression in the Declaration, of his Enemies not daring to attempt the proving these Charges to the World; which is all one, as if a Man in the severest fit of the Gout, should be desir'd to prove that he is so, when the Sense of the Pain proves too sad a remembrancer of his Distemper. And indeed, this part of King *James's* Declaration merits no other answer, than that of the *Philosopher*, to

him who deny'd motion, When making a ſtep up and down the Room, he vouchſafed him no other Refutation of his Ridiculous Aſſertion, than theſe two words, *Sicne Motus?* In fine, it will be equally impoſſible to perſwade the World, that theſe Actions, that render'd King *James's* Government *Odious to the world*, were but Calumnies and Stories, as to perſwade a Man upon the Rack, that he feels no pain. How unluckily have the Penners of this Declaration, ſtumbled upon that Expreſſion, *of his Enemies not caring what Slavery they reduce the Kingdoms to? Quis tulerit Gracchos?* That King *James* had in a great meaſure, enſlav'd theſe Nations, and was upon the Ripening his deſigns, in Conjunction with *Lewis* the 14th. to teach us a *French kind of Subjection*, has appear'd in legible Characters, by the whole Scheme of his Actings: But ſince his preſent Majeſties Acceſſion to the Throne, there is not the leaſt footſtep of Slavery left us; we are bleſt with a King that takes the Advice of his Parliament, and owns no diſtinct Intereſt from that of his People; a Prince, who to deliver us from Popery and Slavery, has ventur'd his *all*, and who by his Conduct at home, and his Allies abroad, is capable to render us happy, if our own Diviſions and Folly do not precipitate us into an inevitable and unpitied Ruin.

In the next place, King *James* tells us, *That ſince his Arrival in* Ireland, *the Defence of his Proteſtant Subjects* (as he calls them) *their Religion, Priviledges and Properties, is eſpecially his Care, with the Recovery of his own Rights. And to this end, he has preferr'd ſuch of them, of whoſe Loyalty and affection he is ſatisfied to places both of the higheſt Honour and Truſt about his Perſon, as well as in his Army.* The Reading of theſe Lines puts me in mind of the parallel, ſo exactly obſerv'd betwixt the *French* King and King *James*, in all their Conduct, and particularly in both their way of aſſerting the calm Methods uſed by them towards their Proteſtant Subjects. When that *Common Enemy of the Chriſtian part of* Europe (as the preſent Pope was pleaſed to call him) had outdone all the *Nero's*, and *Julian's* of old, in the Art of Perſecution, and had render'd himſelf abominated to the World, by the Cruelties committed by his Dragoon Miſſioners upon thoſe very people that had done him the beſt Offices, and preferred the Crown upon his Head in his Minority; yet at the very ſame time, *Lewis* the 14th, and his Miniſters, have had the Impudence to affirm, That no other Methods were us'd to Convert theſe poor Victims, but thoſe of fair Perſuaſion and Calmneſs. Juſt ſo King *James*, that he may follow as near his Copy as poſſible, having ſince his Arrival in *Ireland*, abandoned the Proteſtants of that Countrey to the Mercileſs Rage of an Enemy irreconcilable, from both a principle of Religion and Civil Intereſt, who within his view had laid deſolate whole Counties, and acted Barbarities proper only to themſelves, and their *French* Confederats; and by which they have forc'd away a great many Thouſands from their Countrey, at the point of Starving, having ſav'd nothing of their Fortunes from ſo univerſal a Calamity. Yet, notwithſtanding all this appears in the Face of the Sun, King *James*, that he may not come ſhort of his Patron, boldly affirms, That the Religion, Privileges and Properties of his Proteſtant Subjects (as he names them) are his chiefeſt Care over and above. What a groſs Contradiction is it to common Senſe and Reaſon, that a Prince bigotted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and enſlav'd to Jeſuitick Councils, ſhould make that Religion, which in his Opinion, is an *execrable Hereſy*, become his *equal Care*, with what he calls the *Recovery of his Right?* Sure I am, in this Expreſſion he has mightily overacted his part, and nothing but a belief capable to receive *Tranſubſtantiation*, can be perſwaded of the fair meaning of it. If the propoſition could poſſibly admit of a favourable Conſtruction, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, That King *James* is of another Communion than that of *Rome*, which were a great injury done him to ſuppoſe, ſeing he has given us ſuch convincing proofs to the contrary: For every *Roman Catholick* is obliged to

look

look upon the Proteſtants as *Hereticks*, and their Religion as *Hereſy*; and we have once every year the *imaginary Succeſſor of Saint* Peter, formally Curſing us in perſon; and from his plenary power, declaring us to be fallen from all our Civil Rights. If King *James* had ſaid, the Proteſtants are his Care, meaning the Converſion of them to his Religion, by the calm methods of a Dragoon Miſſion, he would have found no great difficulty to have been believ'd. But to affirm that, *That peſtilent Northern Hereſy*, the the Proteſtant Religion, *was his Care*, is, indeed a ſtretch beyond the ordinary pitch of Jeſuitick Equivocation it ſelf. We have had occaſion enough to be acquainted with the charity of the Church of *Rome*, towards thoſe of our Religion; It has been both fervent and burning: And leſt we ſhould forget what has been done in former Ages, *France* and *Savoy* have of late ſet before us new Inſtances of the Charity of that Church. No doubt King *James*'s ſincerity in this aſſertion, *is* the ſame with that of all his promiſes: And, albeit when he was upon the Throne, we were told in ſome of his Proclamations, That we were bound to obey *without reſerve*; It's hardſhip upon hardſhip to be oblig'd, now when he is juſtly Abdicated, to *believe without reſerve*.

But, that we may the eaſier be perſuaded of King *James*'s care of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and their properties, let us take a ſhort glance of the great favours he has beſtowed on them, ſince his Arrival there. One would think, that a Mans's *Eſtate, his Houſe, Furniture, his Arms, Money, Chattels, and the like*, were included under the word *Property*: King *James* his care has been ſo tranſcendently great of this ſort of Property, that there are at this day, in *England* and the Neighbouring Nations, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and Tradeſmen, whoſe Eſtates, ſeiz'd upon by King *James*'s Order, amounts to no more than four Million of pounds *Sterling*: If any doubt of the Truth of this, I refer them to the *Liſt* and Account, taken of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants by the Commiſſioners appointed by the King for that effect. Neither is there, at preſent, one ſingle Proteſtant within that Kingdom, that can rationally aſſure himſelf of one moments poſſeſſion of what the Barbarous *Iriſh* has left them yet undeſtroyed. Who knows not, That upon weighty Reaſons, the Wiſdom of the Kings of *England* thought it very dangerous to truſt the Natives of *Ireland* with Arms, knowing from many funeſt Experiences, they were a people impatient of the *Engliſh Yoke*, and ready to accept all occaſions to throw it off. But King *James* treads quite another path; In ſtead of diſarming theſe his *darling Wild Iriſh*, they are the only people he can truſt, as knowing their furious Zeal to his Religion, and their Hereditary hatred to the *Engliſh* Nation, renders them fit Inſtruments to execute the deſigns concerted betwixt him and his intimate Allie, the *French* King: And which, to capacitate them the better to effectuate, he has wiſely diſarmed before hand, the whole Proteſtants of that Kingdom, and prepared them ready Victims for their Bloody Enemies, when ever it ſhall be time to give the blow. I confeſs, It requires the greateſt ſtock of patience, to hear one boldly affirm his care of my life, and at the ſame time to ſee him give me up, bound and defenceleſs, into the hands of my cruel and mortal Enemies.

There is another tranſcendent Inſtance of King *James*'s *Care of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, *their Religion, and Property*, which merits to be engraven in *Corinthian* Braſs to poſterity. All that are in the leaſt acquainted with the Laws and Affairs of that Kingdom, know, that the *Act of Settlement* is the great Security of the Proteſtants, their Religion and properties, and the Fundamental Right they have to their Eſtates, conquer'd from the Rebellious *Iriſh*, at the expence of their Blood and Treaſure. By this *Act*, the *laſting Landmarks* are fixt among the Proteſtants themſelves, and between them and the Natives. This is indeed the *Magna Charta* of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and the true *Baſis* of their Liberties and Properties; upon the taking away of which

which, the Superſtructure muſt tumble to the ground. Now King *James*'s *Care of the Proteſtants* is of ſo high a nature, that in his firſt Speech to his *Mock-parliament*, conſiſting all of Papiſts (except about five or ſix) *May* 7. he aſſures them, *He would conſent to the enacting ſuch Laws as might relieve them of the Act of Settlement.* And *May* 10. we find it moved in the Houſe, *That nothing could be more advantageous to the King and Countrey, than to deſtroy the horrid barbarous act of Settlement; and whoſoever ſhall alledge the contrary, ſhall be deem'd an Enemy to both.* Thereafter we find it mov'd by one of the Worthy Members of that Parliament, *That the Act of Settlement ſhould be publickly burnt by the common Hangman.* Behold the tranſcendent care of King *James*, for the Priviledges and Properties of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*! His accuſtomed Zeal obliges him at the firſt meeting of his *packt-up Popiſh Parliament*, to put them in mind of the beſt methods to Repeal the *Great Security of the Proteſtants Eſtates.* His impatience to have this done, could not ſtay till it had been propos'd by any of the Members themſelves; He muſt needs demonſtrat his tenderneſs to his *belov'd Iriſh*, by leading them the way how to break off the *Engliſh* Yoke, and make an inroad upon thoſe Properties the Proteſtants had acquired at the Expence of their Blood. As I intimated before, it was ever the Maxim of *Engliſh* Policy, to bridle in the unwearied Attempts of the *Iriſh*, for regaining their Countrey, by a good ſtanding Army in that Kingdom, conſiſting of Proteſtants: But here we have another Teſtimony of King *James*'s Care of the Proteſtants, in his turning out of all places in the Army, thoſe of that perſuaſion, to make room for others of his own Religion. It was the policy of all Nations to keep the people they had conquer'd, in as great ignorance of the *Art of War*, as poſſible, leſt ſome time or other they might ſhake off their Yoke, by a vigorous Rebellion. But King *James* inclin'd to take other meaſures, and be at the greateſt pains to teach an *indocible Nation* the uſe of Arms, that they might learn in due time to ſhake off the *Engliſh* Government.

As to the other part of the above-mentioned Aſſertion, *That he had advanced ſeveral of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, *to places both of the higheſt Honour and Truſt about his perſon, as well as in his Army.*

To paſs a juſt Judgment upon this Aſſertion, we need only conſider what ſort of perſons are at preſent about King *James*, both in *Civil and Military Capacities*, and we ſhall find it hard to meet with one ſingle perſon of the Proteſtant perſuaſion in the number. *I* could heartily wiſh, that all King *James* his Actions could as eaſily admit an excuſe as this; For the Authority aſſum'd upon Him by *Monſieur d' Avaux* and his other *French Guardians*, puts it almoſt beyond his power to employ *Engliſh Roman Catholicks*, far leſs *Engliſh Proteſtants*. At *the Council-board* we find none of the Proteſtants. The Offices of Lord Lieutenant, Chancellor, Privy Seal, Secretary of State, Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Lord Chief Juſtice, Sollicitor General, Attorney General, and all the places of the Long Robe are enjoy'd by *Roman Catholicks*. As to Military Capacities, there is not one ſingle Gariſon, Fort, nor Caſtle within the whole Kingdom, except *London-derry* and *Iniskilling*, but are fill'd up with both popiſh Governors, Officers and Soldiers. In the Army, all the Field Officers are either *French*, or Native *Iriſh* of the ſame Religion: Yea, the *French*'s abſoluteneſs both at the Council-Board and the Army, has of late given the greateſt Jealouſie and Diſcontentment to ſome that have done King *James* the beſt ſervice.

In the end of this firſt paragraph we are told, That King *James*, *by granting his Royal protection to ſuch, whoſe minds were ſhaken by the Arts of his Rebellious Subjects, has diſpell'd their apprehenſions, and effectually ſecured them againſt the attempts even of their private Enemies.* And then adds, *His Ears have been always open to their juſt Complaints: And ſo far has his Royal Mercy been extended to thoſe that were in Arms againſt him,*

him, that he has actually pardoned several hundreds of them, and most notorious Criminals are kept in an easie Confinement. In reading this period, I find King *James* would impose upon our Belief and Senses something as much contradictory to itself, as *Transubstantiation*; and the one as hard to be digested as the other. The Church of *Rome* tells us magisterially, That albeit our Seeing, Feeling, Smeling, and Taste, combine together, to assure us, that the Bread and Wine is *really such*, yet we must not give credit to these fallible Senses of ours; but take it upon trust from the Church, That what our Senses tell us to be Bread and Wine, is quite another thing; and that there is nothing there left of any such Elements, after once the priest has mumbled over *the three words.* Thus, King *James*, having long accustomed himself to an *Arbitrary power* over our persons and properties, when King; He cannot refrain from venturing an Essay of it upon our Reasons and Senses, even when he is laid aside: For albeit our Senses are continually entertained with hundreds of Objects, that bear in upon our Reason, a certain perswasion that the poor protestants of *Ireland*, are every day flying away from that Countrey, at any rate to avoid the many Barbarities exercised upon them; and that that Kingdom is become the Scene of Misery and Dissolution; yet King *James* would have us wisely lay aside these mean helps of Sense and Reason, and *take it upon his bare Word*, that there is no such thing, which I think very few will be inclinable to do. If what is asserted upon this Subject be true, and consequently our Senses and Reason so strangely beguiled, it necessarly behoves us to pass no milder Judgment upon those Noblemen, Bishops, Gentlemen, and persons of all ranks, that have left their Countrey, since King *James*'s arrival there, but that they are *quite out of their wits*: For what better Name can be given to persons that have left their Countrey, Estates and Employments, to become here the *greatest objects of Charity*, when not only they might have been safe at home, but *secured against the attempts of their private Enemies?* In this Word *private Enemies*, we are obliged to King *James*'s Secretary (whether out of Ignorance, or Design, *I* know not) for a fairly insinuated distinction of the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, their *private* and *publick Enemies.* We know that all *Roman* Catholicks are tyed, by the Dictats of their Church, to be Enemies to protestants; and to extirpate them, when it comes in their power: And this, as flowing from a publick interest of Religion, may justly be termed a *publick Enmity*: But the Natives of *Ireland*, over and above that publick quarrel of Religion, have a private one of Revenge, for recovering from the Protestants their Lands acquired by the Sword; and no age has passed since the Conquest of *Ireland*, but what has afforded bloody proofs of the revengful Spirit of that people, upon this score. If *free quartering, plundering, robbing, disarming, seizing on Estates, imprisoning, murdering in cold Blood*, and the like, *be a securing these poor Protestants against their private Enemies*, they have no reason to complain of King *James* his conduct: But alas! to be ruin'd, and in the mean time to see the Authors of it boldly affirm, that they do us all the Offices of kindness, is the hardest of Fates. I would fain know where are these hundreds that he has pardoned; for those that flee every day from that unhappy Countrey, cannot instance us a single one of them: And for these that are kept in such *easie Confinements*, their condition, of all men, is most deplorable, seing they ly at the Mercy of an Enemy, that waits but for a favourable juncture, to Sacrifice them to their Revenge. What sort of *securing* the Protestants of *Ireland* meet with, against their *private Enemies*; and what is the ordinary effect of *protections* given to these poor credulous people, will appear by this one instance, among thousands of others, of a protection given to a Farmer in the County of *Antrim*, in these Words, *I* Richard Hamilton, *Lieutenant-General of his Majesties Forces in Vlster, do hereby receive into his Majesties protection, the Body and Goods of* James Hunter *of* Bullymenach *in the County of* Antrim, *Yeoman*; *and do*

pro-

promiſe and oblige my ſelf that none of the Army ſhall moleſt and hurt him, or take any thing from him. Given &c. The poor *protected Man*, thus noos'd, returns to his home, and follows his labour; but anone down comes upon him the Rabble of the Army, like an Inundation of *Goths* and *Vandals*; ſweep all before them, and leaves nothing behind them, but a *ſtarving Family*. The wretched man making his addreſs to *Hamilton*, received this cold anſwer; *I promiſed to protect you from the Army, but I have no power to reſtrain the Rabble.*

In the beginning of the ſecond Paragraph, we are told *of the Care King* James *has taken of the Church of* England, *that they be not diſturbed in the exerciſe of their Religion, and poſſeſſion of their Benefices; and that all Proteſtant Diſſenters enjoy Liberty of their Conſciences, without the leaſt moleſtation. And out of his Royal Care for the proſperity of his People* (as he calls them) *he has recommended to his Parliament, as the firſt thing neceſſary to be diſpatched, to ſettle ſuch a ſecurity and Liberty, both in Spiritual and Temporal Matters, as may put an end to theſe Diviſions, which have been the ſource of all their Miſeries; being reſolved, as much as in him lies, to entail Liberty and happineſs on his People ſo far, as to put it out of the power of his Succeſſors, to invade the one, or infringe the other: And this, he takes God to witneſs, was always his deſign.* The firſt part of this long period, is but a repetition of what had been formerly ſaid, in the firſt Paragraph, *of the Proteſtants, their Religion, Priviledges, and Properties being his chief Care*; and what truth, that can bear, we have ſhewed already. There is one thing, that I find King *James* was ever inclinable to value himſelf upon, and which he here likewiſe mentions; *I mean, his tenderneſs to Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and his principle for *Liberty of Conſcience.* They are very thick ſighted, that could not diſcern what lay at the bottom of this Liberty, and what could be the true motive that ſhould have induced one of King *James's* Religion to do it? But becauſe he has been at the pains, ſo often, during his Reign, to aſſure us, That it was his Opinion, Conſcience ſhould not be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of Religion; and particularly in his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, dated *Auguſt* 4. 1687. I'll beg leave to ſay, That in this, King *James* is no obedient Son of the Church of *Rome*; for it has, over, and over again, decreed the *extirpation of Hereticks*: It encourages Princes to it, by the offer of the Pardon of their Sins: It threatens them to it, by denouncing to them not only the Judgments of God, but that which is often more ſenſible, the loſs of their Dominions. It's true, *Bellarmine* tells us, *The Church does not always execute her power of depoſing Heretical Princes, though ſhe always retains it*; and he gives a very good reaſon for it, *becauſe ſhe is not at all times in a capacity to put it in Execution*: So the very ſame Reaſon, might have made it unadviſeable to King *James*, when he was ſo liberal of his Tolerations, to extirpate Hereſie, becauſe it could not be then eaſily done: But we ſee the Right remains intire, and is put in execution, in ſuch an unrelenting manner in our neighbouring Countries, that it has a very Grace, to ſee any Member of that Church pretend to be againſt *conſtraining the Conſcience*, in point of Religion: And when we conſider, that neither the Policy and true Intereſt of *France*, nor the greatneſs of their Monarch, could withſtand theſe bloody Counſels, that are indeed parts of that Religion; I could never ſee any reaſon to induce us to believe, that the late Tolerations of Religion were propoſed with any other deſign, but either to divide the Proteſtants among themſelves, or to lay them aſleep, till it was time to give the alarm for deſtroying them. And that in the Opinion of that Church, the Glory of extirpating Hereſie, is valued above all other great Actions, we have a remarkable inſtance in that famous Harrangue made by the Biſhop of *Valence*, to the *French King*, in the Name of the *Convention of the* French *Clergy at St.* Germain, in *June* 1684. where that Prelate having recounted the innumerable Converſions made by the

Kings

Kings Orders, Cares, and Liberalities, to use his very Words; he subsumes thus: *Je bien même, que chercherois vainement dans les siecles passés, que l'appulerois vainement a mon secours, toutes les eloges des p miers, & des plus saints Empereurs.* It were, *says he*, in vain to search into the Ages past; It were in vain to call to my assistance all the Panegyricks of the first and holiest of the Emperours: And afterwards he treats him with the Title of the Great Restorer of the Faith, and extirpator of Heresie; and tells him, that these infinitely surmount all his other glorious Titles. And then speaking of his Masters great Victories in *Germany*, *Flanders*, &c. and the Peace of *Nimiguen*, made upon the back of them, he concludes thus: That the Fruit, which the King had received by that Peace, made it fully apparent, what was the principal end he aimed at, in the Victories; meaning, the Extirpation of Hereticks. The late King *James*, has always copied so fair after *Lewis le Grand*, That we have no Reason to question, but in this so glorious a work, of extirpating Heresie, it would have come up to the Original, if his Designs, and a favourable juncture of time had concurr'd together.

When he tells us, *That the first thing he has recommended to his Parliament, is, to settle such a Security and Liberty, as may put an end to these Divisions, which have been the source of all our Miseries*, I find the greatest exactness of Truth, in these Words, if we but take them in the sence and meaning of the Speaker, *viz.* a *Roman Catholick* Prince. For, albeit we all know, that the first thing recommended by King *James*, to his *Irish* Parliament, was, The Repealing the *Act of Settlement*; which is, indeed, the Great Charter, by which most of the Protestants enjoy their Estates: And tho' the destroying that *Act*, gives a mortal blow to the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*; yet, according to the native Principles of King *James* his Religion, the repealing of this *Act of Settlement*, may well be called, *The setling a Security, that may put an end to their Divisions, which has been the source of all our Miseries*: That is to say, King *James*, from a Principle of Religion, is resolved to remove that Barrier, that protects the Protestants in *Ireland*, in their Separation from the Church of *Rome*; That by its removal, he may be in a capacity conform to the Holy Dictates of that Church, and the laudable Example of *Lewis* XIV. to put an end to all Divisions in point of Religion, by forcing them to return to the Mother-Church, by the *calm Methods* of late so happily used in *France*. And this, I am very inclinable to believe, he may, with a safe Conscience take God to Witness, was always his Design. I am something surprized to hear King *James* his Secretaries, put out their Masters secret Designs, that were so much his Interest to conceal; but the Truth is, we knew them before, to our Cost; and we hope, are on the way, to be sufficiently secured against any further Effects of them.

In the end of this Paragraph, we are told, *That several Protestants, are now returned to their Country and Habitations; and that more would follow, if the Ports were open: But the usurpers* (as he pleases to call their present Majesties) *know too well the Sincerity of his intentions, to permit so free Passage for them.* This, indeed, is all of a piece with the rest. We are Witnesses, every Day, of hundreds of poor Protestants of that Country, grasping every Opportunity, they can at any rate purchase, to abandon their Homes, and all that's dear to them, that they may but escape with their Lives: And I defie any of King *James* his Friends, to instance me one single Person, of any Condition, that have dared to return Home, since his Arrival in *Ireland*; none of them being so far in love with Destruction, as to venture on his Protection. In this Epithet, King *James* is pleased to bestow on their Majesties, he imitates his Patron, *Louis le Grand*; who, I confess, has the greatest Reason of Hatred against his Majesty, as being the great Supporter of the Liberty of *Europe*; and who, in conjunction with his Allies, is best able to bring to Reason, that insupportable Enemy of *Christendom*; yea, of Man-

 kind

kind it ſelf. It were an Impertinent piece of Boldneſs, or rather, unpardonable Impudence, to offer to vindicate their Majeſties from that injurious Deſignation; ſince the Wiſdom and Power of the Parliament, is paramount to all private aſſertions of their Majeſties juſt Right: And that the moſt, if not all the Crowned Heads, and Soveraign Princes, and States of *Europe*, not only rank our preſent King, among the beſt and greateſt Kings of *England*; but promiſe to themſelves, from his Aſſiſtance, to bridle *Louis le Grand* within his proper Boundaries. It was ever looked upon as a Principle of common Law; That an Heir in Remainder, has juſt Cauſe to ſue him that is in Poſſeſſion, if he makes Waſtes on the Inheritance that belongs to him in Reverſion. That the Heir of a Crown ſhould interpoſe, when he ſees him that is in Poſſeſſion, hurried on by bad Counſels, to ſubject an independant Kingdom, to a Foreign Juriſdiction, is much more reaſonable, ſince the thing is of much more Importance; and that this was King *James* his Caſe, is apparent, by the Tranſactions of the Earl of *Caſtlemain* at the Court of *Rome*; and the rather, that by a great many Statutes, it was Treaſon to have Correſpondence with that See: This inclined to the ſetting up of a pretended Heir, in ſuch a manner, as the whole Kingdom believed him ſuppoſititious, was a juſt and lawful Ground for one Sovereign Prince (ſuch as his Majeſty was when Prince of *Orange*) to make War againſt another, that had ſo abuſed his Power; and 'tis an unqueſtionable Maxim among Lawyers, *That the Succeſs of a juſt War, gives a lawful Title to that which is acquired in the Progreſs of it.* Therefore, King *James* having ſo far ſunk in the War, that he both abandoned his People, and deſerted the Government, all his Right and Title to the Crown did thereupon accrue to his preſent Majeſty, in the *Right* of *Conqueſt*: So that he might have lawfully then aſſumed the Crown: But his preſent Majeſty choſe rather to leave the matter to the determination of the Peers and Repreſentatives of the People, aſſembled with all Freedom in the Convention, who did thereupon declare him King; ſo that, tho' he was veſted with a juſt Title of Conqueſt, he choſe rather to receive the Crown by their Declaration, than to hold it in the Right of his ſword. This I thought fit to ſay, not ſo much for Confutation of the Injury done their Majeſties in the above-mentioned Deſignation, which needs not my Pen; but to ſtate their Right to the Crown in ſuch a Light, as may remove needleſs ſcruples of ſwearing Allegiance to them.

In the beginning of the third and laſt Paragraph, King *James* tell us, *That nothing but his own Inclinations to juſtice, could prevail with him to ſuch a Proceeding, as that of his care of his Proteſtant Subjects in* Ireland; *and hopes his Proteſtant Subjects in* England, (as he calls them) *will make a Judgment of what they may expect from him;* Indeed, it is no difficult Matter, to make a Judgment of what we may juſtly expect from him, if ever Divine Judgement, as the Reward of our Ingratitude for ſo great a Deliverance, ſhould permit us to fall again under the heavy Yoke of a Popiſh Prince, whom we have ſo juſtly and happily thrown off. King *James* is of a Religion, that has, in a famous Council, decreed, That *no Faith is to be kept with Heretickes*; much leſs with Subjects, that he looks upon, as ſo many *Rebels*; and will not miſs to treat them as ſuch, when ever they give him the Opportunity of doing it. For his greateſt Admirers do not run to that height of Idolatry, to imagine him ſo much *Angel*, as not to take all Methods to revenge ſuch an Affront, and ſecure himſelf at our Coſt, from ſuch Treatment for the future. The Apprehenſions of which Reſentment would ſtrike ſuch Terror in Men's Minds, that nothing would be capable to divert them from offering up *All*, for an Atonement; and *Popery* and *Slavery* will be thought a good Bargain, if they can but ſave their Lives. Then we might lament our Miſeries, when it ſhould be out of our Power to help them; for a *Prince* of Orange, is not always ready to reſcue us, with ſo vaſt expence, and hazard of his Perſon.

And

And I must say, if ever our Madness should hurry us thus far, we should become rather the Objects of Laughter, than of Pity.

Therefore, King *James promises and declares, That nothing shall ever alter his Resolutions to pursue such, and no other methods, as by his said Subjects in Parliament, shall be found proper for their common Security, peace and happiness.* Such silly bates as these will not now take; and here is a great deal of Pains lost, to perswade us to rely upon Promises, so often made already, and as often broken. What Adjournments, Prorogations, and Dissolutions of Parliament, we have had of late, is not easie to be forgotten. We have found, to our sad Experience, that the Interest of the Court, and that of the People, were two incompatible things; and to endeavour a Redress of the least Grievance, *in a Parliamentary way*, was not only a vain Attempt, but a design, branded with the infamous Name of *Dissatisfaction to the Government.* I need not be at the pains to repeat all the Promises made by King *James*, of the same Nature with this in his Declaration; and how well they were observed, we all know. Yet I cannot but take notice of *one*, made in his first Speech to his Privy-Council, an hour after his Brother's Death, printed by his own Command, in these Words: *My Lords, before I enter on any other, I think fit to say something to you, since it has pleased Almighty God to place me in this Station; and I'm now to succeed to so good and gracious a King, as well as so very kind a Brother. I think fit to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow his Example; and most especially, in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power; but that is not the only thing, that has been said of me: And I shal endeavour to preserve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by Law established. I know, the Principle of the Church of* England *is for Monarchy, and the Members thereof have shown themselves good and loyal Subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know the Laws of* England *are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish: And as I shal never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so I shal never invade any Man's Property.* He that can reconcile this Speech, with King *James* his after-Actings, is the fittest Person I know, to explain the Popish Notion, of our Saviour's Body being in a thousand distinct Places at once. In these Expressions, he takes it very unkindly to have been reported a Man for Arbitrary Power, and promises a great many things, that are contradictory to it; but how well he deserved the Character, all his Conduct has made it appear with a Witness.

We have one of the most remarkable instances of King *James*'s being against Arbitrary Power, in his Declaration of the 12th of *February* 168⅘. for a *Toleration in Scotland*, where we find these new coin'd Words, thrice made use of, *Our Absolute Power*; with this addition, *Which all our Subjects are to obey without Reserve.* Now *Absolute* in its natural Signification, importing the being without all ties and restraints; then the true meaning of this, seems to be, That there is an inherent Power in the King, which can neither be restrained by Laws, Promises, nor Oaths, for nothing less, than being free from all these, renders a Power Absolute. Though the Term *Absolute* was enough to stretch our Allegiance; yet that which comes after, is yet a step of an higher Nature, tho' one can hardly imagine, what can go beyond *Absolute Power*, and 'tis in these Words, *Which all our Subjects are to obey, without Reserve.* This is indeed, the carrying Obedience many degrees beyond what the Grand Seignior yet ever claimed; for the most despotick Princes in the World, before *Lewis le Grand*'s time, thought it enough to oblige their Subjects to submit to their Power, and to *bear* whatever they thought fit to impose upon them: But, till the fatal Days of the Dragoon-Conversions, it was never so much as pretended, that Subjects were bound to obey their Princes, *without Reserve*; and to be of his Religion, because he would have it so;

to, the only convincing Argument used by their boasted Apostles of late. So, without doubt, this Qualification of the Duty of Subjects, was industriously put in here by King *James* his Jesuitick Councils, to prepare the Procedure of *Scotland* for a terrible *Le Roy le veut*, since the poor Pretensions of the Consciences, Honour, Religion, and Reason, would have been reckoned as *Reserves* upon their Obedience; which were all, by the Expressions, shut out.

Before I leave this Paramount Instance of King *James*'s assuming to himself an *Arbitrary Power*, beyond what the Great Law claims, and contrary to his own reiterated promises, I must take notice of another very *comprehensive expression* in that same Declaration for a Toleration in *Scotland*, and it's this. "We think fit to declare, That "we will not suffer Violence to be offered to any Man's Conscience, nor will we use "force or INVINCIBLE NECESSITY upon any Man, on the account "of his Perswasion, nor the Protestant Religion. When I first read these Words, I easily perceiv'd what caution was used in the choice of them; for it is clear, the general Words of *Violence* and *Force*, are to be explained and determined by these last, of *INVINCIBLE NECESSITY*: So that King *James* very wisely promised only, to lay no insuperable Necessity on his Subjects; but for all *Necessities* that were not *Invincible*, they might expect to have felt a large share of them: For Disgraces, want of Imployment, Finings, Imprisonments, and even Death it self, are all *Vincible* things to a Man of a firmness of Mind; yea, the Violence of Torture, the Furies of Dragoons, and the Precedents used of late in *France*, might have been fairly included within this Promise, since a great and sublime Soul, fortified with an extraordinary measure of Grace, might be able to support under them.

Now, since we have had so many experiences of King *James*'s faithfulness to his Promises, before he abandoned the Government, I pray, what Arguments has he of late given us, that he will be more observing of his Word, than hitherto he has been. Sure the reducing Hereticks to the See of *Rome*, is no less Meritorious than before; nor King *James*, by breathing a little of the *French Air*, and *concerting Measures* with *Lewis* the Fourteenth, become less Bigot.

King *James* concludes his Declaration with *assuring all his pretended Subjects, That if, within twenty days after his appearing in person within England, they return to their Obedience, by deserting his Enemies, and joining with him, he will grant them his full pardon, and all past miscarriages shall be forgot.* This merits no other Answer, but what has been already said: Only this, he must have the worst Opinion of the frailty of Humane Nature, that can be brought to believe, That any Man, not altogether divested of his Reason, can be prevailed with, to join King *James*, though he were in *England*, except he be of that Religion that obliges him to assist a Prince, that sets up so fairly for the Glorious Title of the *Extirpator of Heresie*; and to venture all upon the uncertainty of seeing their Church Triumphant. And if there be any of the Protestant Perswasion, so strangely infatuated, as but to wish his Return, I shall entertain them with no other Answer, but the recommending to them that place of Holy Writ, Preached upon before the House of Commons, of late, by an eminent Divine, *Ezra* 9. *ch.* 9, 13, 14. 'And after all that is come upon us, for our evil deeds, and for our 'great trespass, seing that thou our God hast punished us less than our Iniquities de'serve, and hast given us such a Deliverance as this: Should we again break thy Com'mandments, and join in affinity with the People of these abominations; would'st 'not thou be angry with us, till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no 'remnant, nor escaping?

Printed at *London*, and Re-Printed at *Edinburgh*, 1689.